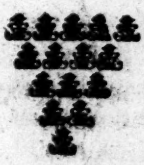
Bethel, Slingsby.

THE Present Interest OF ENGLAND STATED.

BY

A Lover of his King and Country.



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THE

PREFACE

INtereſt is a word of ſeveral definitions, but that which in Creatures, having reaſon, or ſenſe, is preſervation and propagation, is that in a State, which I mean by Intereſt: and this is either Domeſtick looking inward, as relating to the particular frame and kind of government, or foreign looking outwards, as regarding ſuch alterations abroad, as may be of good or evil conſequence to a State; and ſuch counſels, deliberations, or actions, as may improve good, or prevent evill, are, according to the Intereſt of a Nation, and the contrary againſt it. And taking the words thus, the proſperity, or adverſity, if not the life and death of a State, is bound up in the obſerving or neglecting of it's Intereſt. For as no Countrey was ever unhappy, that followed it, ſo none ever proſpered (except by chance) that forſook or miſſed it; and conſequently, it is matter of the greateſt concernment to a Prince, to ſtudie, and make himſelf Maſter of it, that in keeping his Counſellors in awe, by his own knowledge and experience, in matters of State, he may have his affairs the better and faithfuller proſecuted; but in ſearching for his Intereſt, he ought to be exceeding carefull, of not being miſled by former examples, which are to Politicians, as of old, the Stars to Navigators, rightly underſtood, the beſt guide, and miſtaken, the moſt dangerous. For Intereſt in all Countreys is changeable, that which was in one Age, not being alwayes the ſame in the next, as the Crowns of Spain *and* France *do ſufficiently evince. For* Spain *being by corruption in Counſellors, and Miniſters of State, fraud, oppreſſion, and couſenage in Officers, and Servants,*

with perſecution in the Church, and ſeverity in government, cauſing ſeveral revolts, brought at this time low, and into a languiſhing condition, the Intereſt of the European *Princes, is changed from that of being againſt the houſe of* Auſtria, *and for* France, *to that of being for it, and againſt* France, *the latter being at preſent, under more than ſuſpition, that having now got the advantage of* Spain, *they intend to improve it to an univerſal Monarchy, as* Spain *ſo merly deſigned. But as a Prince ought to be ſtudious in diſcovering of his Intereſt, ſo to be ſolicitous in examining the Integrity of Counſels given him, leſt by corrupt Counſellors, he ſhould be put (for private ends) upon deſigns prejudicial, if not contrary and deſtructive to the Intereſt of his Countrey. And becauſe the wiſdome, or defects of Princes, appears much in their choice of Counſellors and Miniſters of State (who under them, are the managers of their Intereſts) there ought to be in the Election of ſuch, a ſpecial eye to their principles, as well as abilities, avoiding with care, all avaricious perſons, as men, who for advantage, will upon all occaſions, forſake, and deſert fidelity, the chief ingredient of a good Counſellor. For when men have parts without honeſty, they are but the greater inſtruments of miſchief; and we find that little more than common parts aſſiſted with integrity, induſtry, and diligence, have done, and do the greateſt things in the world: Nay, that ordinary parts, with ſuch qualifications, do more, than the ſublimeſt without them, the art of Government, not being ſo miſterious, as* State *Monopoliſts would make it, honeſty (as King* James *uſed to ſay) being the beſt policy, and ſurely, that is the beſt Government, that provides moſt for the imployment of the honeſteſt men. For as no State can flouriſh, where their Intereſt is not purſued, ſo publick Intereſt will never be the rule, where Counſellors are not faithful, and when publick principles do not govern men, private Intereſt will, and render their Countrey as Merchandize for the higheſt Chapman; ſo that although, the Notion that Intereſt cannot lye is true, yet it is not (in Subjects) ſingly to be truſted. For ſince private, worldly, and carnal Intereſt (which in perſons wanting honeſty is almayes mercenary) may be changed by the bribing bounty of other*

Princes,

Princes, or States; it is a great error in those, understanding their Interest, to rely upon their Counsellors, or Officers, without examining, whether their counsels and actions are pursuant of, and consonant to their Interests; or yet in great trusts, to presume upon any other qualifications in Counsellors, and Civil and Military Ministers, then either truly religious, or truly honourable moral principles, which cannot change, as private simple Interest, not bottomed upon the one, or the other principle, will surely do according to the greatness of temptations: and therefore, as upon good or bad Counsellors, and Ministers, depends the happiness or infelicity of a Prince, and State, Sir Walter Rawleigh *affirming, that a Commonwealth is more secure where the Prince is not good, then where the Ministers are bad, so they cannot shew more wisdome, then insignally rewarding, and incouraging the former, and exemplarily punishing the latter. I know that Counsels are not alwayes to be judged of, according to success, it being possible, that honest and well grounded counsels may miscarry, and to punish men in such cases, were to discourage the ablest and most virtuous Persons from serving of their Prince or State; but sometimes designs are written in such large characters of selfishness and corruption, the foundations of them being laid in lyes, and forgeries, as is legible to every impartial eye; and when such appears, by a true discovery upon inquiry, the Criminals ought to be made examples to posterity.*

Formerly the affairs of Christendom were supposed to be chiefly swayed by the two great powers of Austria (*wherein* Spain *is understood*) *and* France: *from whom other Princes and States derived their Peace and Warr, according to the several parties they adhered unto. But now the puissance of the former being so much abated, that it deserves no rank above its Neighbours,* France *of the two, remains the only formidable Potentate, of whose greatness, all Princes and* States *are as much concerned to be* jealous, *as formerly they were of that of* Austria. *For, considering the* French *King, in relation to* France, *stored with good Officers, Men, Money, and Ammunition, to his several augmentations gained from all his Neighbours, by conquest, exchange, or purchase (as from* Spain, Italy, Germany, Lorrain,

and the Spaniſh Netherlands) *giving him free paſſage into their ſeveral Dominions, and to his preſent Naval ſtrength, increaſed lately by an unhappy accident,* * *he is accommodated for any deſign, his ambition ſhall prompt him to, or at leaſt, ſhould the ſickly and weak young King of* Spain *dye childleſs, to diſpute uncontroulably, his right to all the* Countreys *in* Europe *belonging to that* Crown, *as alſo to contend for the Imperial dignity, ſhould he ſurvive the preſent Emperor, if he ſtayes till then: and if his aims may be gueſſed at by the writings of his Subjects, which are commonly the the tranſcripts or preſages of their Princes ſence and mind, he pretends to all the Lands, lying on his ſide the River* Rhein, *as belonging to the antient Kingdome of* Auſtratia (*his ſuppoſed inheritance*) *which cauſed a learned man of* Strasbourg (*who ſuſpected their Commonwealth to be ſtruck at*) *to maintain in writing* (*ſome few years paſt*) *the Rights of their City againſt all pretenders. And thus upon the whole, conſidering* France *furniſhed with a King, not wanting high thoughts or activity, leſs cannot be expected from him, than to deſign an univerſal Monarchy, which conſequently makes it the common* Intereſt *of all* European *Princes and States* (*as they value their own ſafety*) *to unite, for the keeping of him within bounds and limits.*

And now as England *is not the leaſt in the general concern of* Europe, *and becauſe ſeated by it ſelf, and divided by Sea from all other Nations, I ſhall begin with it.*

Decemb. 27.
1670.

* The late *Dutch* War.

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THE PRESENT INTEREST OF ENGLAND STATED.

HOlding it neceſſary in the Diſcourſing of *England*, to conſider its Domeſtick, and forreign Intereſts ſeverally; I ſhall obſerve that method, and handle them diſtinctly, beginning with the firſt.

The Iſle of Great *Britain*, of which *England* is the moſt conſiderable part, and that which is chiefly taken notice of in the World, having the advantage of an Iſland, in being divided from all other Countries, by the Ocean; Narrow and Northern Seas is not ſubject to thoſe incurſions that Contiguous Countries are, not being in danger from abroad whilſt its Naval ſtrength is preſerved, by keeping their ſhipping in good repair, and their Marriners incouraged by good uſage: Neither is it fit for foreign acquiſitions, in regard of the uncertainty of winde and weather, and chargeableneſs of tranſportation; but contenting themſelves with the bounds that providence hath given them, making it their deſigne to improve their advantage for trade, to increaſe their greatneſs at home, is their firſt Domeſtick intereſt; for as ſelf defence is the chief intereſt of every Creature, Natural or Poli-

Politick, and as without trade, no Nation can be fomidable, eſpecially at Sea, nor able to maintain a ſufficient Naval-guarde, or deſend themſelves againſt their powerful Neighbours; ſo Trade, muſt be the principal Intereſt of *England*. And this Nature ſeems to admoniſh them unto, prohibiting their affecting Foreign Conqueſts, by placing them with advantages as they are an Iſland. Firſt, for preſervation, and without much for augmentation. Secondly, for viewing the actions of their Neighbours, and qualifying them with might, and ſtrength ſufficient to render them arbitrators in their differences. And thirdly, for advancing both their Home, and Foreign traffick, in endowing them with Natural helps for Trade beyond all other Countries: As with plenty of ſtaple Commodities, incompaſſing them with profitable, and rich Seas, convenient and ſafe Havens, and Bayes, bold Coaſts, Rivers and good Portes, all affording matter of encouragement for foreign Commerce, incomperable means in their many harbours for increaſing of their Navigation, and great invitations to ſtrangers to make uſe of theſe advantages in trading with the Countrie. And yet beſides theſe Natural helps, *England* hath further the advantage of all other Countries, in ſome cuſtoms, and practices: As in that of breeding the younger ſons of Gentlemen, and ſometimes of the Nobility, to the Miniſtrie, Law, Trade, and Phyſick, without prejudice to their Gentility, their Heralds not requiring ſo much as any reſtauration in ſuch caſes; although it frequenly falls out, that Gentlemen, during their Apprenticeſhips to Trades, come by the death of their elder Brothers to be Barronets. In which particular, *England* may well be ſaid to come neareſt unto antient Prudence, and right Reaſon, of all other Nations. For if no Countrie can be rich or flouriſh without Trade, as indiſputable it cannot, nor be more or leſs conſiderable, but according to the proportion it hath of Commerce; and that antiently men were eſteemed, honoured, and dignified according to the benefit, and commoditie their Countrie had recieved by them; the Traders of a Nation ought to be moſt encouraged, and Trade accounted the

moſt

most honourable of all professions. Secondly, by their greatest Nobility, marrying with all degrees, where fortunes answers their qualities. Thirdly, in his Majesties Prerogative, for dignifying men of acquired estates, as he sees cause. And fourthly, in that the single possession of estates, renders in reputation the owners of them Gentlemen, all being vast benefits to the Nation (which other Countreys are strangers unto) in preventing idleness in their numerous Gentry, and incouraging industry in all sorts of people. In *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, it is esteemed below the quality of a Gentleman, to be bred to either Trade, Law, Ministry, or Physick: (except that among the Papists, some are bred to the Church to get great estates, that leaving no known posterity, they may thereby advance their families, as they many times do in *Germany*, *Italy*, and other places.) Neither will the greatest fortunes tempt them to marry into the families of any of those Callings, they choosing to live miserably, as many of them do, rather than to match under their degree, or at least, not into such, as they esteem noble. And indeed, they cannot well do otherwise, without danger of degradation, one of rhe reasons, for the deposition of *Errick* King of *Sweden*, Uncle to *Gustavus Adolphus*, being the undervaluing himself in his marriage; and if the Emperour, or *Northern* Kings, conferr honours upon any of their Subjects, not of antient descent, they seldome last longer in esteem, than the first Generation, the families of these Countreys being so stated, as makes it almost impossible, upon any account to introduce a new lasting Race of Gentility, save that in *Sweden* they have in these latter ages allowed a general command in their Armies, the faithful and prudent discharging the employment of an Ambassador extraordinary, or the election into the Senate, which consists of 40 persons, to be a good original of new Nobility or Gentry. In the United *Netherlands*, the Gentlemen are much upon the same punctilio's, except that in marriage (for good fortunes) they would mix; but that the trading party, not valuing Gentility, without pro-

portionable estates, seldome, or never, willingly do it. And from hence it is (in a great part) that *Gelderland*, and *Overyssel*, two Provinces that abounds in number of Gentry, are so poor, whilst *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friesland*, the first, and last, having few antient Gentry; and the second, none but the Prince of *Orange*, are so rich. *France* is not so strictly tyed up by these rules, as the preceeding Countreys are, their Nobility marrying any where for money, as the Nieces of the last great Cardinal shews, besides that they allow of estates got by Trade, to be laudable foundations for new raised families, in both which principles, they are surely wise, and thrive the better, whilst other Countreys are kept low by their contrary practices; for were it not for the benefit that that Countrey reaps by the incouragement which is given there unto Trade, it were impossible for them to subsist under their great burthens; but no people comes so near the *English*, in the chief of these circumstances, as the wise *Venetians*, *Genovesers*, *Lucreses*, and the *Florentines*, who all allowing the exercise of Traffick in their Nobility and Gentry, reap the benefit of such prudence, as appears in the three first, exceeding their Neighbours much, in prosperity and wealth, and the Prince and People of the last, being abundantly the better by it; for were it not for their principle of Commerce, incouraged by some Liberty in Conscience, connived at in *Leghorne* (the only Port-Town of Trade under that Prince) the people would be as poor, as they are thin, not able to live under the severity of that Government: but if these Instances be not sufficient to prove the profit that accrews unto a Countrey, by a trading Gentry, there needs no further travelling for demonstration, than *England*, where before the reformation of Religion, that Gentlemen had idle Convents to put their younger Sons into, Trade was there so small, that the Customs amounted not to 10000 *l. per an.* whereas they are now, or have been lately, more than fifty times as much; which proves, First, the advantage that Trade brings both to King, and People; and Secondly, that Trade hath been much increased, by

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taking younger Brothers off from their sloathful way of living, and applying them, with their Patrimonies to Trade, and Commerce. The experience of this, may reprove those, who both in * discourse, and writing, plead for the vain antient custom of Idleness, in the younger brothers of *England*, as if they preferred being their eldest brothers servants, with the priviledge of filling up the lower end of their Tables, before the present laudable practice, and incumbant duty of industry, inabling them to live in equality with their eldest brothers. And surely, it is the glory, and not shame of *England* (as our new pretenders to Politicks would have it) that by Commerce, they have made themselves so formidable in the world, whilst all other *Northern* Countreys (the United *Netherlands* as to their Gentry not excepted) by their superstitious adhering to their old customs, are so inconsiderable. And certain it is, that *England* could not have had those great things to have boasted of at Sea, as now they have; nor could they stand before their Neighbours, were it not for Traffick, which is the only thing that makes a Countrey rich, -----Law, and Physick, by great Fees, and corrupt Practice, having a great share in impoverishing this Nation, but none in the inriching of it, fees to both Professions being in all other Countreys very moderate, compared with *England*; a Physician, in no other place, having for a visit above 18 *d. star.* except at *Venice*, where it is 2 *s.* 6 *d.* and in some places, as at *Newport*, and *Lisle*, in *Flanders*, &c. but 6 *d.* and even at *Amsterdam*, and at *Antwerpen*, the first equal to any place for wealth, and the latter next considerable, not above 12 Stivers, which is about 13 *d.* and Lawyers 2 *s.* 6 *d.* for their opinion, and as much an hour, for a business that requires long consultation and work, much of their pleading being cast into that price; so that *England* may be reckoned to exceed in their fees to both Professions, ten times the rates of other Countreys. But if the benefit of Commerce be not sufficient to convince the enemies of trading Gentlemen, peradventure the impossibility of re-

* *State of* England, *pag.* 434, 435, 436.

ducing the Gentry and Nobility of *England*, to the mode of other Countries, without utter ruine to them, may do it, and therefore, they may do well to conſider, that to anſwer other Countries in their Rules,

Firſt, All the Families of the Gentry muſt be ſo ſtated, as that no way (not even by deſert) may be left for increaſing the number of them.

Secondly, None deſcended from them, either Males or Females, muſt marry any but ſuch as are of thoſe Families.

Thirdly, None of their Sons muſt be bred to any Callings, either the Miniſtry, Law, or Phyſick; nay, nor be Court-Officers, except ſuch as they account Noble: (which are not many, Secretaries not being in that number) they reckoning all Callings a debaſement of Gentility, as well as Trade; and he that marries with the daughter of any perſon of a Calling, to deſerve the puniſhment of degr. dation; And therefore, ſhould Trade be maintained in *England*, in ſuch a way, as the riches got by it, would remain in the Trading partie, the Gentry would conſequently be poor, compared with the Trading-Families; and as honours and reſpect will follow Eſtates, ſo the Gentry would be little regarded, whilſt the Traders would carry away all Intereſt, and eſteem in their Countries, as the Trading-Families of *Holland* do at preſent, from the poor Gentry of *Gelderland* and *Overyſſel*, two provinces of the United *Netherlands*. But if theſe new Statiſts ſhall ſtill deſire the want of Trade, with poverty, rather than riches, with the practice of that they call the debaſement of Gentility, they ought farther to conſider, that the Caſe of *England* is not the ſame with other Northern Nations; for *Denmark*, *Sweeden*, and *Poland*, being all upon the ſame Principle, of deſpiſing Trade in their Gentry, are alike poor, wanting Commerce, and ſo under the leſs danger one of another: But *England*, having rich and potent Neighbours, Trade is abſolutely neceſſary for their preſervation, in rendring them equal in power, both at Sea and Land, to their great and opulent emulators; ſo that in true *Engliſh*, they that plead for leſs plenty in the

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People of *England*, do no leſs in effect (though in Charity I will hope they think not ſo) than argue for expoſing them as a prey to their enemies; but theſe principles are not ſtrange in them, who, in pleading for keeping the people low, ſeem to have loſt all Natural affection to their Countrey, in accuſing the Commons (by which I ſuppoſe is meant the Yeomandry of *England*, who, without oſtentation, may be called the beſt of their kind in the world, the Peſants of other Countries being Brutes in Religion, good Nature and Civility, compared to them) of being the courſeſt Bran, and the worſt of People, *&c.* ſaying, they are ſo diſtaſteful to their Gentry, that they wiſh their Country leſs plentiful, or more burthened with Taxes, as the way to refine the manners of the Common people. But, although the Competitors with *England* in Trade, may be glad of having a Confeſſion of Pride, Inſolence, and ill Conditions in the *Engliſh*, from one of themſelves, to make uſe of abroad, for their own advantage, and to the prejudice of the *Engliſh* Nation; yet if it be believed by any that know *England*, they muſt have changed their obſervations of it, that people, having never lain under ſuch a cenſure until now, that it is untruly, maliciouſly, and imprudently clapped upon them, by, I may ſay, a degenerate Countryman, who, in his reproaches, ſheweth little of that natural affection, that every one oweth to the Land of their Nativity, nor ſuitableneſs to the Care his Majeſty and Council take for promoting Trade, by ſeveral Councils appointed to that end, but what uſe ſoever Foreiners may make of theſe accuſations againſt the *Engliſh* Traders, and Merchants in other Countries. I ſuppoſe the new Philoſophy of Poverty, and the transplantation of all Non-conformiſts, called the Sons of *Belial*, (the ready way to penury) being beſt for a Nation, will have but few diſciples; for though all is thought to be made good, by accuſing the People of *England* of want of that humble reſpect, and awful reverence to the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, that is due to them, thoſe to whom the Commons of *England* are not ſtrangers, know that

State of England, pa. 60, 61, 62.

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that they are not wanting in good nature, or due obſervance, to any of the three Orders, where there is Juſtice, and not Oppreſſion, in the two firſt, nor Cruelty, Ignorance, Profaneneſs, or Debauchery in the laſt; for although Greatneſs may procure Fear, nothing but Virtue, Honeſty, and Juſtice, can Love, and true Reverence. It may well be queſtioned, who it is, that the men of theſe principles aim to gratifie by them? for nothing can be more prejudicial to His Majeſty, than publickly to maintain, that Plenty in his people, is inconſiſtent with Peace and good Order in his Government, or that reducing the People to a complaining condition, is the way to make them happy, as this Gentleman inſinuates.

This ſeeming digreſſion, is neceſsitated, for Trade being the true and chief intrinſick Intereſt of *England*, without which it cannot ſubſiſt, thus much could not well be avoided, in the making out, that as well by ſome Conſtitutions and Cuſtomes, as by its Native Commodities and Conveniencies, it ſo far excells all other Kingdomes and Commonwealths in worldly advantages; that Providence may be ſaid to have left nothing more to the People of *England* to do, in order to their earthly felicity, than deſiring of it; the matter of Trade being naturally ſo prepared and fitted for them, that it may even be a reproach to them, not to advance Trade, though no great glory to do it; nothing, except ſome accidents extraordinary, or violent obſtructions, (as impoſing upon Conſcience, *&c.*) or want of good Laws, or the execution of them, being capable of hindring the increaſe of it. And now, as from the growth of Trade, there doth naturally ariſe, not alone riches to the Subject, rendring a Nation conſiderable, but alſo increaſe of Revenue, and therein power and ſtrength to the Soveraign; ſo it is the undoubted Intereſt of his Majeſty, to advance and promote Trade, by removing all obſtructions, and giving it all manner of incouragement.

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As First, By leſſening the over-great Impoſitions upon Native Commodities, and upon ſuch, as are neceſſarily imported to be manufactured in *England*, or to be again tranſported.

Secondly, By cauſing the Native Commodities to be faithfully and truly made, and ordered.

Thirdly, By laying all Companies open, or at leaſt, by leaving them free, for all to come in to them that pleaſe, without fines, more, than a ſmall acknowledgement, tying them, in ſuch caſe, from burthening their own Manufactures with Taxes, as they uſually do for the raiſing money to ſpend profuſely and wantonly: what objections may be made againſt this general rule, in reference to the *Eaſt-Indi's* Joynt-Stock, I know not; but this I am ſure may be ſaid for it, that the *Hollanders*, driving their *Eaſt-India* Trade by a Joynt-Stock, is no argument for *England* to do the ſame: for they having by the publick purſe of the Company, purchaſed and conquered ſeveral Countreys, and petty Kingdoms, which ingageth them often in Warrs with their Neighbours, and neceſſitateth them to keep up a ſtanding Militia of 30 or 40000 men, with many Garriſons, and 100 or more Ships, equipped as well for Men of War at Sea, as for Merchants uſe; the carrying on of ſuch a Government, and defraying the charge of it, is no otherwiſe feaſable, than by a Society and Joynt-Stock, the maintaining of their propriety being impracticable by an open Trade; but the caſe not being the ſame with *England*, they having nothing in propriety, ſave the inſignificant Caſtle of St. *George*, upon the Coaſt of *Cormandel*, their Trade being all by Factories, there is not that reaſon nor neceſſity upon them, for a Joynt-Stock, as upon *Holland*: and Societies, in reſtraining the number, both of Buyers of the Native, and Sellers of Forein Commodities, muſt conſequently tend to the abating the price of the firſt, and inhancing the rate of the latter, nothing being more plain to reaſon, than that the fewer buyers of Native Commodities, the cheaper they muſt be, as the fewer ſellers of Forein, the dearer they muſt be; and that which abateth the

price

price of Native Commodities, and raiſeth the price of Forein, muſt be againſt the Intereſt of a Nation: and therefore the *Netherlanders*, who certainly underſtand the Intereſt of Trade, equal to any people living, though by making the Intereſt of Trade matter of State, they have an eye of regulation upon it, yet admits of no reſtraining Companies, as in *England*, except in their *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Trades, where they have great poſſeſſions in propriety,

Fourthly, By carefully protecting Merchants abroad, from the wrongs and injuries of other Nations.

Fifthly, By making the transferring bills of debt good in Law, it being a great advantage to Traders (eſpecially to young men of ſmall Stocks) to be able to ſupplie themſelves with monie, by the ſale of their own bills of debt.

Sixthly, By conſtituting a Court Merchant, after the example of other Conntries, to prevent tedious and chargeable Sutes in Law, taking men off from their buſineſs, and in making the advancement, and protection of Trade, matter of State.

Seventhly, By having Regiſters of all Real Eſtates, as is profitablie practiſed in other Countries, and in this, within the Juriſdiction of *Taunton*, which in a natural way, will abate the Intereſt of mony, and make Purchaſes certain; for it is no little prejudice and blemiſh to *England*, that of all the Countries in *Europe*, there is none, where Purchaſers, or Lenders of monie upon Land, are upon ſuch uncertainty in their dealings, as in *England*.

Eightbly, By taking away all priviledges (except of Parliament) from perſons and places, tending to the defrauding Creditors of their debts, and extending the Statute of Bankrupt, againſt all perſons not Trading, as well as Traders, it being but equal Juſtice, that all men ſhould be a like liable to the payments of their debts.

Ninthly, Banks (not Bankers, but) ſuch as are in uſe at *Venice*, *Amſterdam*, and *Hamburg*, where the States are ſecurity, keeping particular accounts of *Caſh*, for all men, deſiring it, are of great advantage to Merchants and Traders,

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in securing their monies from many casualties, and making receipts and payments, speedie and easie; besides, so certain, without the danger of losing acquittances, or the death, or want of witnesses, as takes away all occasions of suits about them, Bank accounts being allowed for undeniable testimonies in Law; but of these, I confess there are no thriving and flourishing examples, save under Republicks.

Tenthly, By making Free Ports (which *England* of all Countries in *Europe*, is most proper for) giving liberty to Strangers, as well as Natives, upon payment of a small duty, to keep Magazines of goods ready for transportation to other Countries, according to the encouragement of Markets abroad, are great increasers of Trade and Navigation, and so of riches; as appears, not only by *Holland*, which is a Commonwealth, but also by St. *Mallows*, under the Monarchy of *France*, and *Leghorne*, under that of *Tuskanie*; the first, for its bigness, which contains but thirty six Acres of ground, being the richest City in *France*; and the latter, all the places in that Princes Dominions, which, compared to former times, can truly be said to flourish.

Eleventhly, Making business at the several Offices for Custome and Excise, and in all other places, as easie, and as little vexatious as may be, in employing such persons of honesty, integrity, and discretion, as will not abuse their trusts, no more in insolency than falseness, is a great encouragement to Traders; as also, making passing in and out of the country by Strangers and Travellers, untroublesome, is a motive and inducement to them, to satisfie their curiosity in visiting the Kingdome, and spending their money in it. For to object, that the incivilities travellers meet with in going in, and coming out of *France*, hinders no resort thither, is more than can be proved; besides that, admit it is not, yet the like usage in any other country, would be a prejudice to it, and would be surely so to *France*, were it not the humour at present of this giddy age, to run a madding after them; and certainly, the facility that is in doing business in *Holland*, and the unmolested egress and regress that

Strangers and Travellers meets with there, is a great benefit to them.

Twelfthly, Would the Trading Corporations, chooſe after the example of *London*, and according to their own Intereſts, and reaſon of their inſtitution, their members for Parliament out of themſelves, the Intereſt of Trade would probably be better underſtood, and faithfullier proſecuted than it is, and it cannot but be a prejudice to Commerce, that they generally ſend Courtiers, Country Gentlemen, or their Recorders, to Parliament, who will be ſure to prefer their particular Intereſts before that of Trade, it being natural to all men, to ſeek their own profit, before that of others.

Thirteenthly, As *England* hath ſome beneficial Cuſtomes, which other Countries are ſtrangers unto, ſo it hath others, as prejudicial, not known to Forein Governments; as the great expences of Corporations, undoing many Citizens and Townſmen; a Freeman of *York*, or *Southampton*, not being able to go through all their Offices, according to Cuſtome and expectation, in the firſt, under ſeven or eight hundred pound; and the latter, ſix or ſeven hundred; which may well be judged one cauſe, why *York* is ſo poor, and the other thrives no better; and the like obſervation may be made of the moſt of the other Corporations: The great charge of Sheriffs of the Counties, hath decayed, if not ruined many Families; and the expence of Barriſters, at their Readings, is a provocation to them, to increaſe their ſharking, and growing upon the people; all which bad effects, are to be wiſhed were remedied, ſo far as taking away theſe unneceſſary expences will do it: for I am not of their opinion, who think popular feaſtings and good fellowſhip, called Hoſpitality, to be the Intereſt of the Nation, becauſe it conſumes the growth of the Countrey; but on the contrary, that it is altogether againſt it: For, beſides the provoking of the Judgments of God by ſuch inordinate living, Exceſs weakens mens bodies, ſpends vainly their time, dulls their wits, and makes them unfit for action and buſineſs, which is the chief advancer of any Government, and to ſupply the

want of people in any Land, by a riotous wasting the growth of it, is, at best, but a bad effect, of a bad cause, and against that rule which forbids doing evil, that good may come of it; and therefore, the true Interest of any Country is, by immunities, priviledges, and libertie of Conscience, so to encourage, and encrease the number of people, as they may rather be (in a sober way of living) too many, than too few for their provisions: and we do find, that in former times, when Hospitality was in *England*, much greater than at present, and that merely in the expence of their own provisions, without *French* dishes, or much of either *Spanish* or *French* Wines, the Country was poor to what it now is; and that it hath been the encrease of the Trade and People of that Nation by Liberty and Priviledges, indulging tender Consciences, that hath advanced them. And (as to the retrenching of expences) this seems to be agreeable to the principles of that wise and great States-man, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who saith, that taking away all superfluous charges and expences, as well in Hospitality as in lessening the fees, allowances, and wages of Ministers of little necessitie, as also of pensions, rewards, entertainments, and donaries, to be a laudable parsimony used by the *Romans*, and other well-governed States.

But, fourteentnly, imposing upon Conscience, in matters of Religion, is a mischief unto Trade, transcending all others whatsoever, for if the Traders and Manufacturers be forced to flye their Countries, or withdraw their stocks, by vexatious prosecutions, the having Natural Commodities in a Countrey, or no great impositions upon them, will signifie little to the Prince or People; And Liberty of Conscience is not only the Common Interest of all the Nation, but especially of his Majesty, in that,

First, By it he obligeth all his Subjects equally to him, no man having just cause to be offended at another mans liberty, since he enjoyes the same himself; and more particularly, he obligeth all the Non-conformists to him, who can have no other Interest than his, that in grace and favour

gives them Liberty; securing thereby, in an especial manner, all the several perswasions, from agreeing upon any thing, to the prejudice of their Common friend, whereas the Papists have, as others may have, other Interests. And, although a Prince arrived to that height which is above Envy, and all fear from abroad, may sometimes adventure in imposing in matters of Religion, it is not in any kind excusable in them, that are not in such a condition, but that stands in need, in reference to the potency of their Neighbours, of the hearts of all their people, especially in this age, when the large experience the world hath had of the insuccessfulness and evil of it, hath made, (even) in the greatest Potentates, a general abatement therein, and now, when it is too late, they grow weary of their rigour. The last *Pope*, as is affirmed, having disswaded the *French* King, from attempting *Geneva*, when he thought to have obliged the Church of *Rome*, by reducing of it. And oh that *England*, whilst they have time, would be warned by the miseries of others, to avoid the rock they have split upon. Had the former Kings of *Spain* used in any degree, the lenity that that Crown at present practiseth in their Netherlands, where now a known protestant may obtain his freedome of several Cities, without having his Religion enquired into, as at *Bruges*, *Newport*, *&c.* those Countries had not been so thin of people, nor *Spain* so depopulated as they are, nor yet the whole house of *Austria* so low, as it now seems to be. Nay, had the *Pope* made formerly so little use of his Inquisition, as he doth at this time, few places being less inquisitive after mens belief, than *Rome*, where one may be as good as he will, and spend all his dayes without being proceeded against, either Ecclesiastically or Civilly, for not coming to their Churches, *Italy* had had more people than it hath, and been more considerable than it is: The *French* could never advance by Massacres, of which, they are reckoned to have had thirty or forty, at several times, in several places, nor yet get forward in power and greatness, until they laid aside Persecution; confessing, as

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Lewis the 13th. did at the taking of *Rochell*, that although it would rejoyce him to have all his Subjects of the same belief with himself, and that he should use all sweet means possible to draw them to it, yet since the experience of times past, had sufficiently made *France* to know, that Religion is not to be planted by the Sword, but (to use his own words) that it is God alone that must incline the heart, and illuminate the understanding with his knowledge; he assured them he would never use Violence in matters of Religion, and to give that King his due, he truly inherited the merciful good Nature of his incomparable Father.

The History of the Siege of Rochell.

Secondly, It may be concluded to be the Interest of the King and Kingdom of *England*, to grant Liberty of Conscience, because by a general consent of Nations, liberty in ceremonies, invented by men, seems to be accounted necessarie for the good of humane society. For I believe I may without boldness affirm, that *England* is singular in prosecuting them, who are one with them in Doctrine, for differing only in ceremonies, no other Christian Church that I know of, doing the like. In *Germany*, the *Lutherans* have scarce, in any two Cities, or Countries, the same ceremonies; *Nurenburg*, and *Leipsigg*, having almost as many as the Papists, and yet differ in them; *Hamburg* hath fewer, and *Strasburg* none at all; and so it is through all the *Lutheran* Cities and Countries in the Empire, and yet agreeing in Doctrine; their differing in circumstantials, make no breach of charitie amongst them, although at the same Communion. I have seen some receive standing, as others have kneeling. The Church of *Rome*, in their using the inventions of men, in the worship of God, seems (their Principles considered) to act rationally, because they pretend to the assistance of an infallible Spirit; but for the Reformed Churches, who do not pretend to any such help, to maintain that the Lord of Heaven and Earth, who is so jealous of his own worship, that under the Law, he severely prohibited the adding to, or diminishing one little from what

what he had commanded, and under the Goſpel, gave no other Commiſſion, than to teach according to what he had commanded, that he hath left his Worſhip to the inventions of corrupt, frail man, inclinable above all things to ſuperſtition and idolatry, and who are by nature, endleſly various in their imaginations, ſenſe, and underſtandings, ſeems to be irrational, and to accuſe Chriſt, of not having been, as a Son, ſo careful of his Church, as *Moſes*, a Servant, was of the Church of God under the Law: for had Chriſt intended to have left his Church under a negative obedience in worſhip, making all things lawful that he had not forbidden, the command had been as readily made, to do whatſoever he had not prohibited, as it was to do whatſoever he hath commanded; And that the Church of *Rome*, who pretends to infallibility, ſhould not exact Conformity in Ceremonies, where there is an agreement in Doctrine, as they do not even in *Rome* it ſelf, (where they might force it, without prejudice to Trade, having little to obſtruct) there being in that City ſeveral Popiſh Churches, differing from one another in Ceremonies, and all abundantly from that properly called the *Roman* Church, and yet agreeing in Doctrine, have publick toleration, without exceptions; And yet that the Church of *England*, who pretends not to infallibility, ſhould to their civil prejudice, be rigid in impoſing them, upon thoſe that agree with them, not only in Fundamentals, but in all material points of Faith, Worſhip, and obedience, with puniſhment for denial, I cannot conceive the reaſon, except without Ceremonies, to adminiſter matter of employment, in puniſhing tender Conſciences, they think they ſhould be without work, in any kind adequate to their great Revenues, and that they dread the conſequent of uſeleſneſs.

The Grecian and Armenian Popiſh congregations, &c.

Thirdly, Liberty of Conſcience to all Proteſtant Nonconformiſts, is the true Intereſt of King and Kingdome, in that it is abſolutely and indiſpenſibly neceſſary, for raiſing the value of Land, which at preſent is miſerably mean and low,

low, and advancing the Trade and Wealth of the Kingdome.

Firſt, Becauſe impoſition upon Conſcience, hinders the reſort of Strangers, and ſo the encreaſe of people, whereof *England* is greatly wanting, coming ſo far ſhort of *Holland* in numbers, (whereby that Province alone, is made more conſiderable than all the other ſix) that whereas they are calculated to have ſix Souls for one Acre of ground, *England*, I fear, hath hardly one for ten, and the riches of *Holland*, under ſuch multitudes, as the proviſions of their own Country, are ſaid not to be ſufficient to nouriſh above an eighth part of their People (all the reſt being ſupplied by the Sea, and Trade with other Countries, argues Plenty of Inhabitants to be a benefit to Trading Countries, and Forein Conqueſts or Plantations, exhauſting men and money, where there is not an overplus of both, a prejudice which ought to be avoided. *Intereſt of* Holland.

Secondly, Impoſition upon Conſcience, drives the ſobereſt, and moſt induſtrious ſort of Natives into corners, leaving trade into too few hands, and to a kind of people that do but rarely mind it; amongſt whom, though there are ſome that get large eſtates, it is not the thriving of a ſmall number, but diffuſive wealth, that makes a Country rich. And, as moſt of the Corporations in *England* have declined in their flouriſhing condition, ſince many of the ſobereſt, and publick ſpirited Citizens and Townſmen, have, by the impoſition of Oaths they could not comply with, been barred all ſhare in Government, ſo the influence would have been the ſame, upon the whole Nation, had not His Majeſty wiſely conſidered the good of his Kingdome, in expreſſing his ſenſe for Liberty, and in ſome kind, conniving at it. And if men, ſetting aſide paſſion, would but ſeriouſly remember, and ponder the ſad conſequence of ancient Popiſh Epiſcopal Perſecutions, in the deaths (by ſeveral bruti ſh wayes and torments) of many millions of precious Chriſtians, in *France*, *England*, *Netherlands*, *Germany*, the *Alpine Vallies*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, producing no other effects, than the

the depopulating of the two last, and increasing the number of Dissenters in all the rest, besides the irrepairable damage of this Kingdom, in their former Bishops, driveing the woollen Manufactures back into the *Netherlands*, (as the King of *Spain* had before driven them into *England*) by Persecution, where they have ever since increased, and where they now remain, sad Monuments to this Nation, of the impolitick severity of those times, they could not but be convinced of the vanity and wickedness of such practices, as well as of the civil prejudice they bring to Nations, in destroying of their people, and therein depriving them of the benefit of Industry, thinking charitably of that saying, which was antiently in *Voge*, and is still in some places remembred, that when a Bishop is created, the Devil enters into him, and makes him his Executioner; which as it had its original in times of Popery, so it concerns their Bishops only.

Fourthly and Lastly, As it is the King and Kingdome of *England's* Interest, to give Libertie of Conscience to all Protestant Dissenters, so it is not only to deny it to the Papists, after the example of other reformed Countries, as *Denmark*, *Sweeden*, several Princes in *Germany*, and the reformed Cantons in *Switzerland*, but also to take care to prevent the growth of them, and that upon a civil score; as first, because they own a forein head upon the account of their Religion, in which, they are carried on by such a blind zeal, as cannot render them less, than Spies, and Intelligencers for that Interest, and ready upon all occasions to appear for it. And even the wisest Popish States, acknowledge the reason of this principle, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* affirming, that the *Venetians*, as not holding it safe, to have any in their Counsels, who have dependance by Oath, Homage, natural Obligation, Pension, or Reward, when their Senate is Assembled, causeth Proclamation (before shutting of the doors) to be made, for all Priests to depart, and he who in this Commonwealth, is called the Divine of the State (an Ecclesiastical Person, to be advised within matters of Religion

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gion) is commonly choſen ſuch a one, as is reputed the leaſt Bigot in that Religion, as in the memory of ſome living, *Padri Pauli*, and after him *Fulgentio*, both Succeſſively performed that office, and were eſteemed favourers of the Reformation, and correſpenders with *Diodati* of *Geneve*, and if Papiſts dare not truſt their own Clergy in their Counſels, upon the account of their forein dependance, Proteſtants upon the ſame account, have no cauſe to truſt Popiſh Subjects in their Countries, longer, than until they that are now living, die away, and that they can breed their Children to the Proteſtant Religion: I am not ignorant, that there are a ſort of men, who, with the Author of that Book, intituled *The State of England*, ſeek to infuſe a belief into the people, that the diſpenſing with the Laws againſt the Papiſts, is neceſſary for the prevention of perſecution to Proteſtant Subjects, by their Popiſh Princes; but the impoſers of that opinion, preſumes more upon ignorance, and eaſie nature, in the moſt of men, than upon any ſtrength there is in their arguments: for this ſuggeſted danger, muſt referr to *Spain*, *Italy*, the Emperour, or the *French* King; and for the two firſt, they have by former Perſecutions, (though not without depopulating of their ſeveral Countries) left no Native Proteſtants in them; ſo that however *England* ſhall deal with their own Papiſts, the King of *Spain*, nor the Pope, have any Proteſtant Subjects, to uſe better, or worſe, and for the few reformed Merchant-ſtrangers that are among them, they muſt (for their own Intereſt, in reference to Commerce) ſuffer them to enjoy a trading liberty, without having their Religion inquired into, and more than that, they are never likely to have. And as to the Emperour, he being through facility of Nature, acted by the Church, hath (to almoſt the ruin of himſelf, as well as his Proteſtants) ſpent all his Reign hitherto in a grievous and ſore perſecution of the Reformed in his Hereditarie Countries (having no power over them in other places of *Germany*) for by it, he hath loſt a great part of *Hungaria*, and in a fair way of loſing the reſt, beſides that, he hath thereby much prejudiced Trade, and

lessened his people, for, even the Protestant Gentry and Nobility, who by birth have great Immunities, and ought not to be imposed upon in matters of Religion, were (lately) some forced to leave their Countries, and others who stayed, to entertain none but Papist Servants in their Families, so that *England* by no kind of treatment of their Papists, can increase the Emperours persecution (which is already so high) of his protestant Subjects. And for the *French* King, he cannot persecute his Reformed, without breach of the Edict of *Nantes* (their *Magna Charta*) and several other Laws, giving them as good a right to exercise their Religion, as the Papists have for theirs, making them also capable of all civil offices, privileges, and preferments equal with Papists, and that upon consideration of having been alwayes loyal and faithful to the Crown, so that there is no parity betwixt the *French* Kings Arbitrary breaking of his Laws, against the reason of them, which hath not yet been forfeited, and which were made (with acknowledged gratitude) for the preservation of the reformed. And the King of *England*, with the continued reason of his Laws (witness the Massacre in *Ireland*) his keeping, and executing them against his Papists, but further, those that observe any thing of *France*, must confess, that that King, in matters of Religion, regards no examples of others, or any thing but his own designs, as in his present persecution of his reformed Subjects, he may well be judged to aime at the advancing of his reputation, with the Church of *Rome*, as a means to help him forward in his aspiring designs; for but few years since, when the Papists were under the most severity in *England*, the Protestants were under most liberty in *France*, and now they enjoy the greatest liberty in *England*, the Reformed are the most persecuted in *France*: but besides these circumstances, it cannot but be of evil consequence, and a lessening unto Soveraignty,

The Edict of Nantes *granted by* Henry 4th. 30 April, 1598.

The Edict of Nantes, *confirmed by* Lewis 13th. *the* 22 May, 1610. *and again* 10 Nov. 1615. *and by* Lewis 14th. *the* 8 July, 1643. *confirmed in Parliament*, 3 Aug. 1643. *and again confirmed by the said* Lewis 14th. *this present King, the* 21 May, 1652.

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to own the having an eye to other Princes, in the execution of their Laws, for nothing can be more dishonourable to a Prince, than to be under the awe of Forein Potentates in his administration, within his own Dominions; but this Gentleman doth not always ponder what he writes, for when I consider his sharpness against the Presbyterians *&c.* in *England*, calling them Mushromes, Tares, and the Sons of *Belial*, insinuating the transplantation and extirpation of them, I cannot but wonder he should have so much concern for the reformed abroad, who are the same with the Presbyterians of *England*, and therefore must judge it to proceed from favour to the Papists, towards whom, he so tenderly avoids all reflections and severity, as if he thought the revolt of a Presbyterian, *&c.* to Popery, to merit a pardon from transplantation or extirpation, and not from any kindness he can have for the Protestants in other Countries. Nor do I know how to reconcile his boasting of the transcending Charity of the Church of *England* towards other Churches, with his accusing them of looking upon the Non-conformists of *England* as bastards, or making no account of any other Interest in them, than a man makes of the Vermin which breed out of his excrementitious sweat, or those *Ascarides*, which comes sometimes in his most uncleanly parts; but for such homely expressions, surely the Church of *England* will not think themselves beholding to him, no more than for rendring them so charitable to those that differ from them both in Doctrine and Discipline, as the Papists do, who are the Church he must mean, and so uncharitable to those that agree with them in all material points of Doctrine, and differ only from them in circumstantials, as the Non-conformists do.

State of England, pa. 50, 56, 60.

Secondly, The growth of Papists in *England*, ought to be prevented, because there is a kind of natural unaptness to business in that Religion (compared to the reformed) as *Italy*, and *Spain*, where they are the greatest Bigots, do evidence; besides, that the same seems to be made good in

England, in that for one Papist stranger of business, that is in it, there is thought to be fifty Protestants, or more, though, I fear, that the difference in the number of the one and th'other Religion, is not much, and the fewer idle, and unprofitable persons any Country hath, the more prosperous it must needs be.

Thirdly, Because the vast sums of money that go out of *England*, sent by Papists, to such uses, as they call pious; for putting young Gentlewomen into Nunneries, and breeding Gentlemens sons in Popish Schools and Universities, is a great impoverishing of the Nation, and so a prejudice to Trade, the School at St. *Omers* having seldom less than an hundred and twenty *English* youths, and the Colledge at *Doway*, eighty or more Students, besides their other Schools, Universities, Convents, and Nunneries, scattered over all the Popish territories, (founded on purpose to encrease that Interest in *England*, corrupt, and pervert their Gentry) which are too many to enumerate.

And lastly, Because the multitude of lazie Priests and Jesuits, sent as Emissaries, to seduce Protestants, and encourage Papists in their errours, are a vast charge to those of that Religion, and in them, to the Nation, without contributing any thing to the good of mankind: And if the *French* King thinks it his Interest, in order to the rendring himself Protector of the *Romish* Religion, to suppress his Protestant Subjects, who, by Law, have a right to Liberty of Conscience, equal with the Papists, who own no other Head but their Native King, and who were so faithful to him, that when reduced to the greatest extremities at *Rochel*, and forced to implore the assistance of *England*, yet would never depart from their Allegiance, in putting themselves under *England*, when sollicited to it; The King of *England* hath much more reason to think it his Interest, in order to his safety, and making himself Head of the Protestant Party, to suppress the Papists, who own another Head, and so have a Forein Interest, and who are bred to Principles which lead them to a restless plotting against their Sovereigns,

King *James* his Proclamations, 22 *Feb.* 1603. and 10 *Jann.* 1606. & the preamb. of the Stat. of 35 *Eliz.* cap. 3.

if contrary to them in Religion, never joyning with such, but upon design for themselves, holding the murther of King and people, rebellion, or any thing else, which they judge may tend to the propagating of their Religion, lawful, in the case of such as they call Hereticks, as those who have conversed with Papists abroad, where they sometimes speak their hearts, and own their principles, do know, as well as the Gun-powder Treason, the Massacre in *Ireland*, and the many plots in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, (which cannot be forgotten) do sufficiently witness: In contemplation whereof were (I suppose made those wise Statutes, enacting, that the Popish Recusants, shall be restrained to their private houses in the Country, and not at any time after to pass, or remove above five miles from thence, upon pain of forfeiture for life, of all lands, goods, and chattels; That none of them, convicted, or to be convicted, shall remain within ten miles of *London*, nor come into the Court, or House, where his Majesty, or Heir apparent shall be, nor have in their own houses, or in the hands or possession of any others, at their disposition, any Arms, Gun-powder, or Ammunition whatsoever; and by the Book of Thanksgiving appointed for the fifth of *November*, set forth by King *James* and the Parliament, it is enjoyned to pray upon that day, for the strengthening of the hand of the King and Magistrates of the land; to cut off with Judgment and Justice, those workers of iniquity, the Papists, whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, whose practice is the Murthering of Souls and Bodies, and to root them out of the Confines of the Kingdome.

35 *Eliz.* ch. 2. and 3 *Jacob.* ch. 5.

And now, since the wisdome of the Nation hath judged the Papists so dangerous, it may seem strange, that putting the Laws in execution against the Non-conformists, should be thought a good reason for the prosecution of them, and be none against the other, of whose dangerous principles there hath been such large experience; some observations here may peradventure be thought strained and new, as that there

is a kind of Natural unapness in the Popish Religion to business, whereas, on the contrary, amongst the Reformed, the greater their zeal, the greater is their inclinations to Trade and Industry, as holding Idleness unlawful, but experience in most places makes it good: as in *Spain* and *Italy*, no one City can boast of any great Trade driven by their Natives, the greatest part of their Commerce being carried on by Protestant strangers, *Amsterdam* alone having more Trade than all the Sea Towns of *Italy* and *Spain* have, put together: but to come closer to the Observation; In *Germany*, even in those Cities where they are Papists, without toleration to any other, there the Reformed may be said to carry all the Trade, as at *Colne*, in other Towns where they are *Lutherans*, with a publick toleration to Papists, which is denied to *Calvinists*, there the reformed carry the Trade clearly from both *Lutherans* and *Papists*, the latter having little, as at *Frankford*, upon the Main. In other places, where the Cities are half *Papists*, half *Lutherans*, without toleration to any other, there the latter have the Trade, as at *Augsburgh*. In *France*, the Reformed, for their number, are the greatest Traders, though that people, being looser from the Bishop of *Rome* than *Spain* or *Italy*, are more given to Industry, than either of those Nations; but yet, that the Reformed are by much the more Industrious, appears, in that they have no beggars amongst them, though calculated to exceed three or four millions of souls; it having been observed by one that travelled *France* round, and crossed it several wayes, that in all his travels in it, he never met with one Protestant beggar, and yet the multitudes of Popish, are such, that it hath upon tryal been found, that in going from the City of *Rouen* in *Normandy*, to the Protestants Church (two *English* miles and an half out of town) to give every beggar but that which they call a *double*, (hardly the sixth part of a penny) will cost a *Lewis d'or*, which is at least 17 *s. sterling*. These Instances cannot be denied by any traveller, that hath been curious to enquire into the condition of these places; and examples are the same in Politicks, as experience is in Naturals. Upon my own ob-

obſervation hereof, being inquiſitive after the reaſon, a perſon of Quality, and Miniſter of State to one of the Electors of *Germany*, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted, granted the truth of theſe things, but went no farther for the reaſon, than that the Religion of the reformed, was an argument of their wit, and that their Underſtandings made them the abler Merchants.

And now, upon the whole, ſince it appears that Trade depends much upon Liberty of Conſcience, the ſuggeſtions againſt it, either from unexperienced, or concerned perſons, are not to be regarded; Country Gentlemen, bred only at home, to a Religion which exacts little from them, beſides, Conformity to humane Ceremonies, with oppoſition to every thing that is contrary, being tenacious of that which is ſo pleaſing and grateful to mans Nature, are not generally competent Judges of this Intereſt, nor yet any ſort of people, who, having ſpent their dayes in ſtudying Books, more than Men, or Things, employing themſelves more in puniſhing tender Conſciences for not obeying in the Worſhip of God, the Commandments of men, than in the weightieſt duties of their Callings, as in ſuppreſſing Papiſts, ignorant, debauched and ſcandalous Miniſters, rendring their actions thereby to proceed more from Self-intereſt, than an enlightned and ſincere Conſcience, are not in this caſe againſt demonſtrations to be harkened unto.

And indeed, it is a work moſt ſuitable unto Soveraignty, the Grand child of *Henry* the great of *France*, and the large experience of his Majeſty in caſes of Religion in other Countries, to ſurmount all ſelfiſh oppoſition in this matter, for the advancement of his own Intereſt, and the good of his people, which whatſoever flatterers may ſuggeſt to the contrary, are bound up together. I know that the enemies to Liberty of Conſcience, do impoſe upon the world, an apprehenſion of danger in it; but the poſition hath no foundation in reaſon, preſidents, or any thing elſe, ſave a confidence running down

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of truth, for their own advantage, it no where appearing, that ever Protestants dissenting from their National Church, having Liberty of Conscience given them, did rise up against their King, or disturbed the quiet of their Countrey, as those of the *Romish* Church have in all Ages, and Nations, done. For as the Reformed Religion obligeth its Members to worship God according to his will revealed in his word, so keeping good Consciences in that, it teacheth them obedience to their Soveraigns, in civil commands. It is confessed, that the old *Waldenses*, Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, have sometimes fled to Arms for defence of themselves, in the exercise of their Religion; but although the advantages they have often had of their Princes, have been great, yet no sooner was ever Liberty granted them, then they laid down Arms, returning again to obedience, in which they alwayes continued, until their Articles were broke, which (contrary to Faith) was frequently done: and the like cannot be denyed unto the Protestants of *France*, *Hungary*, and other places, whereas on the contrary, antient and modern Story, afford us plentiful relations of those of the *Romish* Religion, rising up against their Kings, when they have had full liberty in Religion, and no restraint upon them in their worship: as who were greater Instruments in the Barons Wars in *England*, against their Kings, and in the changes that followed thereupon, than the Church in time of Popery; were not the many Tragedies, acted antiently in *Scotland*, in such times, when they were all Papists? Did not the *Romish* Catholicks in *France*, notwithstanding theirs was the National Religion, depose, and degrade, their lawful Soveraign *Henry* the *4th.* the Parliament of *Tholouse*, in his absence, arraigning, and condemning him to death, executing him in his Effigies by Harquebushes, none of which Traiterous and Rebellious usage, did that great and excellent King (Grandfather of His Majesty of *England*) although he recovered all by force of Arms, in the least revenge; by which generous, as well as politick carriage, he added to the Conquest

Duke of Rohan his Memoires.

queſt of his Country, the conqueſt of the hearts of all his people, reconciling at once all the animoſities and factions, which had been the product of near forty years civil war: Are they not Papiſts in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where, in our time, have been ſo many revolts and mutations, with the depoſition, or confinement of the preſent King of *Portugal*; the late Confederates in *Poland* againſt their King, were all Papiſts, and of a Country where *Popery* is the National Religion. The preſent *French* Kings danger, in 1650, *&c.* was from his *Popiſh*, and was delivered chiefly by his reformed Subjects. The Papiſts in *Ireland* had (as none can deny) liberty for exerciſe of their Religion, exceedingly above what the Non-conformiſts had at that time, when they committed that not to be parallelled bloudy, and more than barbarous Maſſacre, in the year 1641. Nay, the ſteadie greatneſs and quiet of *Sweeden*, is of no elder date, than ſince they caſt off *Popery*, pulled down their Biſhops, and embraced *Proteſtantiſm*, the Church, having been, until then, the occaſion of much trouble unto that Kingdome. And none of theſe particulars, being deniable, the Papiſts cannot, without great impudence, boaſt (as many of them do) of their fidelity to their Princes, accuſing the Proteſtants with want of it, and eſpecially ſince if theſe inſtances were not enough to make good the aſſertion, that the Proteſtants are the beſt, and Papiſts the worſt of Subjects, the like might be obſerved of every individual Country and Nation in the Chriſtian part of *Europe*, in the times of Popery; but ſuppoſing theſe to be ſufficient, I ſhall not give my ſelf any farther trouble, upon this point, or other domeſtick concern of *England*, but proceed to the external importances of that Kingdome.

And firſt, As the Foreign Intereſt of a Nation looks outward, and in order to its good and preſervation, regards the actings and deſigns of Foreign Princes and States (eſpecially their Neighbours) endeavouring to reduce them to that which may moſt agree with their own good and ſafety,

ſo it is the Intereſt of the King and Kingdome of *England*, to make uſe of the advantages their ſtrength and ſituation gives them, in weighing the Imperial powers of Chriſtendome, keeping the balance, by adding to, or diminiſhing from any of them, as beſt ſuits with Juſtice, and their own Intereſts. And as undoubtedly His Majeſty hath done more than any ſince good Queen *Elizabeth* (if for a ſhort time a ſort of people not fit to be remembred did not the ſame) in hitting upon his true Forein Intereſt, in that triple League of which he was the Author, and into which he hath, with ſo much wiſdome and prudence lately entered, for oppoſing all growing greatneſs by Sea or Land, in the *French*, they being already too potent for their bordering Neighbours, ſo conſtantly and effectually to adhere thereunto, in joyning with all others to that end; and particularly with *Spain*, with whom *England* hath a much more profitable Trade than with *France*, is (according to preſent affairs) the ſame; For ſhould *France*, by the acquiſition of thoſe convenient Provinces and ports of the *Netherlands*, become Competitors with *England* in Trade, (to ſay no worſe of them) they would, in a ſhort time, make good Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Character of them, in being falſe, inſolent, and covetous neighbours.

Sir Walter Rawleighs Cabinet Counſellor.

Secondly, As *England* and the *United Netherlands* (which are, in ordinary diſcourſe underſtood by the name of *Holland*, that Province, by way of eminence, giving denomination unto the whole) are the two great Maſters of Naval ſtrength, and ſeated with ſuch advantages for aſſiſting each other, that whilſt a true intelligence is preſerved betwixt them, it is not in nature for all their enemies, combining together to prejudice either of them, ſo it is the true Intereſt of *England*, to maintain a firm and perpetual friendſhip and union with them; and that,

Firſt, Becauſe as the *Netherlands* are naturally ſtrong, ſo they are above all other Countries, fitted by ſituation, for the

the uſe of *England*, to give check to any aſpiring Prince, and be as invincible bulwarks, againſt the all-devouring deſigns of the *French* King, in being able at any time, with the countenance of *England*, to deſtroy him at Sea, who being brought down there, and ſo in his Commerce, will ſoon abate of his power at Land; and ſurely nothing can be more for the ſecurity of *Europe*, than to reduce the Naval ſtrength of that threatning King, within former bounds, for the world found, that untill the *Spaniard* loſt his Maritime force, in the year 1639. which he never after recovered, he maintained his deſign for the Univerſal Monarchy, very vigorouſly, and never ſunk till then.

Secondly, Becauſe it is equally their Intereſt, with *England*, in reference to their Navigation, to keep the ballance betwixt the Northern Kings and Sovereigns, not ſuffering any of them to engroſs that Sea, becauſe Naval Commodities coming thence, neither of them can be ſafe, longer than the Sea remains divided among ſeveral Princes and States, whoſe general Intereſt it can never be to deny them neceſſaries for their ſhipping (the chief walls of their ſeveral Countries) or a general Trade with them, as a Monarch, he being ſole Maſter of the whole, would peradventure, in ſome caſes, judge it his, and preſume to refuſe them all accommodations; and this principle, the States of *Holland*, have wiſely, in our dayes, ſeveral times owned, as in the years 1643. in ſiding with the Crown of *Sweeden*, when the *Danes* would (had not the States aſſiſtance been in the way) have run them down at Sea; as alſo on the contrary, in the year 1658, in taking part with the *Danes*, when the *Swedes* had otherwiſe done the like by them, by which means, both the Crowns are preſerved, and kept within tolerable limits and bounds.

Thirdly, Becauſe that as Providence ſeems to have placed them with conveniencies for joyning with *England*, in keeping all other Maritime Princes, or Powers, in order ſo, without any capacity of being dangerous to their Neigh-

Neighbours, their Conſtitution being ſuch, as will not well admit of any further acquiſts.

Fourthly, Becauſe as *England* and *Holland*, are of one and the ſame Religion, ſave in ſome Ceremonies, ſo it would be of great incouragement, and countenance to all the Proteſtant Countries, to have a firm League betwixt two ſuch for midable Powers, of their own belief, and as great a trouble and diſturbance, to all the Popiſh Counſels.

Fifthly, Becauſe the world having had ſuch large experience of the happy ſucceſs of their Conduct, in being principal Inſtruments in preventing the Houſe of *Auſtria* in their grand deſign for the univerſal Monarchy, and conſequently, in the propagation of the reformed Religion, as well as at ſeveral times, in preventing both *Dane* and *Sweed*, from either of them devouring the other; it were ſurely high impolity, as well as in ſome degree ingratitude, to ſuffer ſuch uſeful inſtruments and allies, to whom this Generation is ſo much obliged, for their wiſe and excellent management of the general Intereſt of theſe parts of *Europe*, to be deſtroyed.

Theſe States I know have many enemies, ſome envying their Trade and Riches, others their revolt from the King of *Spain*, as of bad example, and the Church of *Rome*, their eſtabliſhed National Religion, as that which is paſt ſhaking; but becauſe none of theſe arguments can be plauſibly made uſe of againſt them by the Papiſts, who dreads the conjunction of *England* with them, nor by thoſe Princes, and States, who aſſiſted them in their revolt, the grand reaſon for ſubducing of them, is made the greatneſs of their Trade, which being deſtroyed, would be divided amongſt their Neighbours, leading them ſometimes untruly, with accuſations of unjuſt dealings, exactions, and falſeneſs; to which I ſhall only anſwer this, that although I have no cauſe to become an Advocate for them, from any advantages or benefit received, yet having travelled their Countries, obſerved their Man-

Manners, and read their Diſputes, and Tranſactions with other Nations, I think it but an Act of Juſtice to acknowledge, that in the generality of their Morals, they are a reproach to ſome Nations, (and particularly, in ſo little uſing that art of over-valuing their Commodities in their ſelling to *France*, who ſo ſhamefully uſe and practiſe it) and as to their Treaties, and Alliances, after which I have been inquiſitive, I have ſometimes found them wrongfully charged with breach of Articles, and do not find cauſe to accuſe them of having been in the obſervance of Treaties, leſs candid, or faithful, than other Countries, and I cannot think, their Trade, or Wealth, (although I believe, that *Holland* ſingly taken, is the richeſt ſpot of ground for its bigneſs, that ever was ſince the Creation) to be a good or honeſt foundation of a quarrel: for their Commerce being alone the effects of Induſtry, and Ingenuity, it is no reaſon for any to be angry with others, becauſe they exceed them in theſe Virtues; but beſides, that the deſtroying of the *Netherlands*, would be the ſhaking the ſafety of theſe Northern Regions, the increaſe of Trade to other Countries, ſo much promiſed by ſome in their deſtruction, would ſurely fail; for were Trade ruined in *Holland*, as leſs cannot be the effects of Conqueſt and Slavery, the example and emulation of their Trade, which hath been the great increaſe of it in other Countries, being taken away, and Trade fallen to a ſort of people of leſs concern for it, men would grow lazy and weary of Commerce, every one thinking they did well, ſo long, as they were upon equal terms with their Neighbours; ſo that the ſubverſion of *Holland*, would be no benefit to any, ſave to the *French* King, into whoſe mouth their Country would moſt fall, who wanting nothing for the making of him uncontroulable, but Havens and Ports to harbour Ships, nouriſh and breed Seamen, would find ſupply there, and whoſe Kingdom, being over-ſtocked with people, would be able to ſpair men to plant an un-inhabited Countrey, as would certainly be the fate of *Holland*, under a Conqueſt and Arbitrary Govern-

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ment, as it hath been to all the free Cities in *Tuſcany* and *Italy*, ſince they loſt their Liberty; whereas *England* wanting neither Havens nor Ports, nor having an over-plus of people, it would be a dammage to them in the loſs of their Inhabitants, and an unprofitable charge to maintain Forein Colonies, where the Seas muſt be perpetually croſſed for ſupplying of them with men, monie, and neceſſaries; inſomuch, that the *Netherlands*, under ſuch circumſtances as they would be reduced unto by ſubduing of them, would not be in the hands of the *Engliſh*, ſo much for their own ſecurity, as in theirs that now poſſeſs them, for reſtraint and freedome makes ſo great difference in proſperity, that leſs than Liberty, incouraging Trade and Induſtry, would never be able to maintain their Walls againſt the Sea, which are kept up with incredible labour, charge, and ingenuity, but expoſe thoſe parts lying upon the Sea, which are many times more conſiderable than all the reſt, to be devoured by it, or laid much under water, and ſo rendred inconſiderable. And the truth of this principle in thus much advancing the benefit of freedom above Arbitrary Government, which would be the lot of *Holland* under any Conquerour, may be obſerved by the two Cities of *Weſell* and *Maſtrick*, which whilſt in the hands of the *Spaniard*, were without Trade, miſerable, wretched, and poor, many of the houſes of the latter being leſt in ruines by the Inhabitants, as wanting ability to repair them; and now in leſs than 38 or 39 years, that the States have been Maſters of them, they are both become flouriſhing places, the latter being in a great part new built, with one of the faireſt and beſt new publick Town-houſe that is ordinarily met with, next *Amſterdam*, and *Auguſtbourg* in *Germany*. But if there were not theſe conſiderations in the caſe, as well as that of the advantage that the fall of *Holland* would be to the *French*, which alone is ſufficient to ingage *England* to ſupport them, it could no way be the Intereſt of *England* to ruine them, to the end to increaſe their own Trade,

becauſe

becauſe if their aims be only traffick, the world affords matter enough to ſatisfie both Nations, and that *England* hath ſo much the advantage of *Holland* in natural helps for Trade, that if they do but improve them, they cannot miſs of exceeding all others in it; and if they will be careleſs of their common concerns, they ought not to draw an argument from their own neglects and ſloth, for the envying other mens activity and diligence.

And laſtly, ſo long as a firm Peace and amity is maintained by *England* with the *Netherlands*, they may look upon them as the out-works, which muſt be firſt taken in by any invader that will attempt them, for as it never can be the Intereſt, or in the power of *Holland*, to invade *England*, ſo their Intereſt in reference to Religion, as well as Civil ſecurity, will alwayes oblige them not to ſuffer any others to do it, or to endanger them, in whoſe ſafety they can onely be ſafe, it being the clear Intereſt of *England* not to ſuffer any other Potentate to ſubvert their Government: So that upon the whole, ſince the ſubduing of *Holland* cannot be a benefit but loſſe to *England*, and may be of great advantage to *France*, and the Church of *Rome*, againſt which they are impregnable Fortreſſes; with ſome ſmaller profit to other Popiſh Soveraignes bordering upon them; as to the Elector of *Colne*, and Biſhop of *Munſter*, &c. It muſt be the chief Forreign Interreſt of *England* to ſupport the preſent Government of *Holland*.

Thirdly, It is the Intereſt of *England* to hold a good Correſpondence with *Spain*, not onely becauſe that People being little inclinable to Commerce gives a Trading Countrey the more advantage in their Friendſhip, but alſo for that that Crowne is neceſſarily to be made uſe of, for the ballancing of *France*.

Fourthly, and laſtly, as the French King ſtriveth for the Protectorſhip of the Romiſh profeſſion, ſo it is

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ſurely the King of *England's* Intereſt, to render himſelf (wherein he can have no oppoſition) the General Protector of the Proteſtant Religion, whereby he will become more formidable, and glorious, then he can by other means: For as Queen *Elizabeth*, adhering thoroughly, and cordially to that Party; advancing the Religion, holding intelligence, and taking part with them in all their engagements, and conſiderable treaties; was not onely able in the infancy of the reformation in *England*, to maintain the reformed in *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*, againſt their Enemies, their then ſeveveral Soveraignes, but alſo, at laſt to bring down *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain* (one of the wiſeſt, and greateſt Kings they ever had) and in him, the whole Popiſh Party; by which her memory is made famous unto poſterity; ſo his Majeſty having many leſſe difficolties, to ſtruggle with, than ſhe had by eſpouſing the ſame principles, cannot fail of the like glorious ſucceſs.

And now, to ſum up the Domeſtick Intereſt of *England*, it lyeth in the advancement of Trade, by removing all obſtructions both in City and Country, providing ſuch Laws, as may any way help it, and make it moſt eaſie, eſpecially in giving Liberty of Conſcience to all Proteſtant Non-conformiſts, and denying it to Papiſts; In not coveting Foreign Conqueſts, which have alwayes been prejudicial and can never be of advantage to them: and retrench the unreaſonable Fees of Lawyers, Phyſicians, and Officers, as they are great impoveriſhers of the Nation: And as to the Foreign Intereſt of *England*, that may be calculated, to be in keeping the balance among their Neighbours, and other *European Princes*, being in order thereunto, firm to their preſent tripple League, and in that eſpecially to *Holland*, in holding a good correſpondence with *Spain*, and in being jealous of all growing greatneſs in the *French*, keeping the Baltick Sea open, in His Majeſties making himſelf Protector of the whole Proteſtant party, and as Peace is the advancer

advancer of Trade, to ſeek it, and not war, except an inavoidable neceſſity require it. And thus I ſhall conclude this Chapter, and in it, the Intereſt of *England*, with begging pardon of the Author of that Book, intituled, A Diſcourſe of Eccleſiaſtical politie, for my Non-conformity to his Doctrine, which teacheth, That it is ſafer for a Prince to allow Vice and Debauchery, than Liberty of Conſcience, whereby he prefers the breach of the ten Commandments, and that which the whole Word of God, the Old and New Teſtament, the Law and Goſpel, ſo dreadfully threatens, and declares againſt, before that, which neither the practiſe of our Saviour, nor his Apoſtles, nor any Text in Scripture forbids, or at leaſt, himſelf being Judge, not poſitively, and indiſputably, as they do the other; wherein, I confeſs, I am ſo far from agreeing with him, as alſo in many of his other railing principles, not much better, that I think the Church of *England* hath reaſon to wiſh his Book had been writ by ſome of another Coat, and of a more remote relation to the Church, then the Author is reputed to be, by reaſon of the advantage that their enemies may have, of drawing arguments from it, to prove their old Charge, that the power of godlineſs is ſo far from being held out, in the Lives, Converſations, and Principles of many of their Prieſts, that they rather ſeek to debauch, and make the people wicked and profane.

This is all I have at preſent to ſay of this Country, beſides adventuring to Propheſie, that when *England*, (neglecting Church Politicks, which are commonly founded in paſſion, revenge, and ſelf, and Lawyers Divinity, which is generally collected out of their own Books, more than the Books of God) will effectually purſue their true Intereſt, they cannot fail (their natural advantages for trade conſidered) of being more great and glorious than any other Nation.

FINIS.